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ROUND TABLE

A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

THE BALKANS AFLAME

PETER DRUCKER · RICHARD BURKS · LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

348th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 136

OCTOBER 20, 1940

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

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No. 135

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

YOU, SOLDIER

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

●

LEWIS B. HERSHEY, Acting Director, Selective Service Administration

LELAND C. DE VINNEY, Instructor in the Social Sciences, University of Chicago

and

THE ROVING REPORTER

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, October 13, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

YOU, SOLDIER

REPORTER: DeVinney, how old are you?

MR. DE VINNEY: I am thirty-four. How old are you?

REPORTER: Thirty-two. Hershey, how old are you?

MR. HERSHEY: Forty-seven.

REPORTER: Ah, they caught you last time!

MR. HERSHEY: Yes, they caught me last time.

REPORTER: Well Colonel, I am interested in getting my friend De Vinney into the army. He is a very promising boy, I think, fairly bright, and very husky; he is married, I find, and his wife helps to support him; they have no children. What can we do about finding a place for him?[1]

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[1] *The draft applies to all men, citizens and aliens alike, from twenty-one to thirty-five, inclusive. The only persons who need not register are the personnel of the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Public Health Service, the federally recognized active National Guard, the Officers Reserve Corps, the Regular Army Reserve, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserve, and the Marine Corps Reserve, plus cadets and midshipmen at the United States Military Academy, Naval Academy, and Coast Guard Academy, plus men who have been accepted for admittance to these schools, plus R.O.T.C. and Naval R.O.T.C. cadets in the Advanced Course, senior division, plus diplomatic, consular and similar representatives of foreign states. Inmates of insane asylums, jails, penitentiaries, reformatories, and so forth are registered for the draft at the time of their discharge by the warden or superintendent in charge, and persons outside the United States must register within five days after returning to this country.*

MR. HERSHEY: I think he has about one chance in forty on a mathematical basis, but you say he is married so that means he gets into the special class that includes people with dependents and people who are in industry, or some other occupation important to the government. Otherwise his chance seems to be about one in twelve this fall, or one in six, altogether.

But about De Vinney, we don't—if we can help it—want him in the army. While he is a rather likely looking fellow, yet if he goes down there the first thing you know family problems begin to weigh on his brow and he will want to go home. We want soldiers that want to be there all of the time, so, if we can possibly get out of it, we would like to have him deferred.[2]

REPORTER: How much does it cost you to give De Vinney a year's training?

MR. HERSHEY: I am afraid it is going to cost about $1,500, and, after we get him, for the next ten years he will be a rather poor reservist, I think, at his age.

MR. DE VINNEY: Hershey, you have been made responsible for the setting up of this National Selective Service.[3] We are very

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[2] *Persons whose numbers are called in the draft and who receive and fill out the questionnaire for classification are divided into four general classes:*

Class I—Available for service immediately.
(IA—Available for general military or naval service)
(IB—Available for limited military or naval service)

Class II—Deferred because of the importance to the nation of the work they are doing in civilian life.

Class III—Deferred because of dependents.

Class IV—Deferred by law or because of mental or physical unfitness, alien status, and so forth.

[3] *Lieutenant-Colonel Hershey was appointed by President Roosevelt temporarily to handle the administration and organization of selective service on September 28, the powers of his appointment being broadened October 4 to include designation of local board members, local board*

fortunate in having you here this morning to discuss some of the more important fundamental problems that a democracy faces in launching on its first general peacetime compulsory military training program. What will be the basis of deferring people from this selective service?

MR. HERSHEY: Largely industrial, which includes agriculture and all activities contributing to national life and dependencies. Those are the two largest categories.

REPORTER: Colonel, some of the people who have communicated with the ROUND TABLE, and some of the people I have talked to—especially in industry—are worried about the disruption that will result from taking a lot of men out of industry and putting them into the army. Can you do anything about that?

MR. HERSHEY: I think our Class II will take care of most people engaged in activities essential to Government needs now. That includes national health, safety, and all that sort of thing.

MR. DE VINNEY: It strikes me that if we are going to take people for selective training who, in general, are not going to leave jobs and disrupt industry, are not going to break up homes, it looks very much as though we are going to build our army out of the unemployed and use the selective service program as a device for getting the unemployed off the streets.

REPORTER: One of your own colleagues on the University of Chicago faculty told me the other day that it seemed to him, inasmuch as the government was paying for the unemployed anyway, it ought to just shift them into the army.

MR. DE VINNEY: That is an idea that is very popular among certain groups of people. Here we have a lot of unemployed costing

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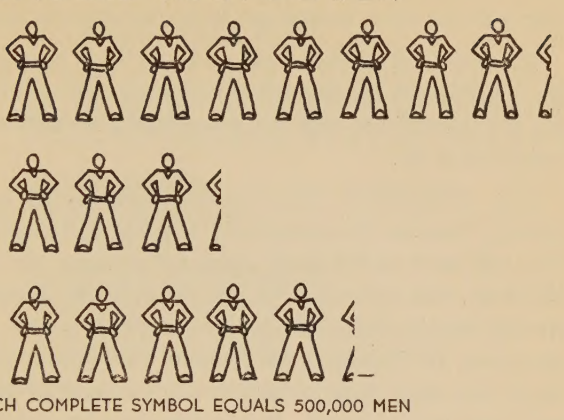
physicians, government appeal agents, and members of appeal boards. Clarence A. Dykstra, President of the University of Wisconsin and former city manager of Cincinnati, Ohio, will shortly be named the permanent head of the selective service system.



the taxpayer money to keep them on relief or WPA; why not stick the unemployed in the army and kill two birds with one stone?

MR. HERSHEY: There are a lot of reasons. One is because the man probably has a family. We cannot break up the social unit just because the man is, for the present, unemployed. Another thing is that this army must be democratic. We've got to have people from all classes. Back in Rome they would not even let a man in the army unless he had property or a family, because they figured that if he had nothing but his life to give he could not be trusted with weapons. We have not gone that far, but we must make this army representative of all classes, and we most certainly don't want an army composed of any particular class.

MR. DE VINNEY: From the point of view of the army, you would like to get representative people from our entire citizen body?

MR. HERSHEY: Exactly!

MR. DE VINNEY: I wonder still if it isn't going to be the case, in deciding who shall go and who shall not, that there will always inevitably be a tendency to take the man who is loose, who has no

ties, who has no job to lose, and therefore to pull the unemployed man into the army and leave the employed man alone.

REPORTER: I am afraid an awful lot of people in this country are figuring that the first hundred thousand or the first half-million, will be taken off the relief rolls and that the draft won't bother the rest of us at all.

MR. HERSHEY: That is going to put it right back on the community, because the community is going to furnish the three men who will have rather large powers in making the initial selection. However, this man on relief who feels that he should not go if he is chosen, has the right to appeal to an appeal board. For instance, in your case, De Vinney, if they should pick you and you are not satisfied with what your neighbors say you should do, you could appeal to an appeal board. If you convince one man on that appeal board that you are actually somewhat material to the maintenance of your family you could appeal to the President.[4]

REPORTER: These boards seem to raise the same objection as did the census-takers. I remember that we did a ROUND TABLE program on the census a few months ago.[5] People were worried about

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[4] *The local boards established under the act are composed of three members, who must be citizens and civilians and must reside in the area over which the local board has jurisdiction. These local boards—about 6,500 in number—exercise this jurisdiction over areas usually having around twenty or thirty thousand population, though the law provides that any area having more than 3,500 registrants shall be immediately sub-divided into two or more areas. Members of the boards receive no compensation, but are aided by paid clerks. Appeals from the decisions of the local board may be taken to an Appeal Board, consisting normally of five persons, each board having jurisdiction over an area of approximately 600,000 population. Further appeal can be made to the President if any member of the Appeal Board has cast his vote in your behalf, if you have been classified in Class I, and if the grounds of the appeal are dependency.*

[5] *See the* ROUND TABLE *discussion broadcast March 31, 1940, "The Census?"*

UNEMPLOYED MALES IN 21-30 AGE GROUP
TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED
EMERGENCY RELIEF WORKERS
PARTLY UNEMPLOYED
EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 100,000 MEN
ESTIMATED ON THE BASIS OF 1937 UNEMPLOYMENT CENSUS

its being made a personal problem with their neighbors knowing what they were doing, and people whom they did not like, or who did not like them, taking the census.

Let's say that I get up before a draft board and one member is a fellow whose little brother I beat up a few days ago; the second member has a sister that I jilted; the third member is a fellow that I just "did" in a business deal.

MR. DE VINNEY: Mr. Reporter, if you did that you deserve what you get and I have no sympathy for you.

MR. HERSHEY: But you could go to the appeal board, bad as you are.

MR. DE VINNEY: I think this is an important aspect of the problem. In this selective service program that you have been instrumental in setting up there has apparently been a great deal of effort to give wide discretionary powers to these local boards rather than to establish clear, well-stated laws that all can know. Doesn't that raise a considerable danger of arbitrary action on the part of these local boards? Even though an appeal can be made, it seems likely that the initial decision will have a great deal of influence. How are these boards to be selected, and who is to be on them?

MR. HERSHEY: In Chicago the boards are going to be picked by the Governor, initially. He is going to recommend them to the President, and the President is going to appoint them.

MR. DE VINNEY: Does that mean that you are going to have a board of Democrats that will send all of the Republicans to the army?

MR. HERSHEY: I doubt if that will be true, because, in the first place, the community is very much aware of these committees and they will have to answer 365 days in the year for their actions. In other words, they must live in the atmosphere they make. When they are taking sons of people in the community, I don't believe they can use arbitrary methods, because they are going to be checked by the appeal boards anyway.

REPORTER: Colonel, we have been trying to steer clear on this ROUND TABLE of all the questions that are being answered on radio programs and in the newspapers—technical questions about the draft. I have been crawling around the country in my usual role of Roving Reporter and I have talked to all kinds of people in all kinds of places. There are a lot of questions that don't seem to be answered, and the first one that I get from every man who has a job is whether or not his job is going to be protected if he is taken.

MR. HERSHEY: The law does give him, I think, a great deal of protection. We are going to have to depend a great deal upon public opinion. It seems to me that De Vinney here, is a fellow that ought to answer what you can do from the side of society. I think it is up to him to tell us how to keep these people when public opinion is the thing that is going to be the controlling factor.

REPORTER: Am I to understand, Colonel, the law says that a firm in interstate commerce will have to rehire a man after his first twelve-months' training period, if possible?[6]

[6] *Section 8(b) of the Selective Service law contains this provision "... . such (private) employer shall restore such (discharged trainee) ... . to such position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so. ... ."*

MR. HERSHEY: That's right!

REPORTER: I talked to the general manager of a big department store who took me quietly into a telephone booth where nobody could overhear us, and told me that that provision of the law was just about as enforceable as was the prohibition law. He said: "How are you going to find out whether or not a firm can re-hire a man? Are you going to have the government step into every business house in the United States to find out?"

MR. DE VINNEY: You are perfectly right. I think undoubtedly the people that made this law did so, in part, with their tongues in their cheeks and with their eyes on the voting booth this autumn. Clearly, the government cannot send someone around to every business house to make sure that an employer takes back a person that has been in selective service training for a year in the same job and at the same pay he was getting before.

On the other hand, I think there is considerable point in the pressure of public opinion, providing this army of draftees is taken, not from the unemployed who don't have jobs now but from the entire citizen body. If that is the case there will be an enormous repercussion of public opinion if they come back and can't get jobs after they have been away for a year.

REPORTER: Colonel, what happened after the last war? Wasn't there an awful lot of difficulty with men who had risked their lives for their country coming back to find that other men had their jobs?

MR. HERSHEY: Perhaps you are right. I happen to know of one particular case worthy of mention. The 27th Division had a problem of replacing some twenty-eight or twenty-nine thousand individuals. They started the job in Germany. They replaced more than half of them immediately with former employers, and they were able to find jobs for all the men by using nothing more than a little social pressure. I think, after all, people must appreciate what these individuals have done. That is the basis on which we have to work to get them jobs.

REPORTER: What worries the fellows who are going to be called is whether or not the people *will* appreciate it. Of course, I didn't serve in a very important capacity in the last war. I collected a big ball of tin foil which I traded for a scooter after the war; but I remember when the fellows came home there were parades and demonstrations and picket lines of soldiers who could not get their jobs back. It became a pretty serious problem. Apparently, we only appreciated them when they were going and when they were fighting.

MR. DE VINNEY: Of course, you must remember that when this first eight hundred thousand—or four hundred thousand, as the case may be—of trainees come back, another four hundred or eight hundred thousand are likely to go. That may relieve somewhat the pressure of getting jobs back.

In your travels around, talking to the general citizens, how much excitement have you found about the general problem of what people are going to do to pay their rent and keep up their life insurance and maintain their social security status?

REPORTER: I did not talk to the man who is going to be drafted; I talked to the man on the receiving end. For instance, I talked to, I think it was, the thirty-ninth vice-president of one of the biggest banks in the country.

MR. DE VINNEY: Can the thirty-ninth vice-president speak for the bank?

REPORTER: Everything is departmentalized, of course. This was his business, and he told me that they had made no plans whatsoever of relieving people of payments they were making on mortgages. He said: "For the time being, we are going to handle individual cases as they come along." I talked to the local head of what I think is the biggest insurance company in the country. The gentleman said the same thing: "No plans. We think we are going to be able to handle these cases individually as they come along."

MR. DE VINNEY: I take it these companies intend to make individual adjustments in case of people who are taken into the selective service.

REPORTER: Their position—and the position of an automobile financing company was the same—that they think so few men will be affected that they will be able to adjust to it.[7]

MR. HERSHEY: I don't think they need worry very much about paying rent, because they are going to have places in which to live.

REPORTER: What if they have leases?

MR. HERSHEY: Do you think that any court would hold that the landlord had rights on a lease when the Government removed a man to protect the landlord so that he could continue to own that property?[8]

REPORTER: I don't know about the courts, Colonel, but this well-fed gentleman who sat in the oak-paneled office of the insurance company told me they were prepared to defer the insurance premium payments for twelve months while the man was earning only $30.00 a month. But he added: "We will charge six per cent interest."

MR. HERSHEY: I think that is a problem for the sociologist and I think De Vinney ought to take care of that.

MR. DE VINNEY: Apparently, in the case of this insurance official you are speaking of, the company will arrange it so that the person taken in the selective service program can keep his insurance,

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[7] *400,000 men are to be inducted into service by the first call with an additional 400,000 men called next spring; the selective service law itself forbids the training of more than 900,000 men at any one time, though this provision may be changed in the event of immediate danger.*

[8] *Celler (see the suggested readings on page 23) writes: "The courts . . . . are empowered to stay all proceedings for eviction, where monthly rent is not over fifty dollars and the premises are occupied chiefly as a dwelling by the family of a draftee. . . . . The same rule applies to the foreclosure of a mortgage for nonpayment of principal and/or interest."*

providing he can pay double premiums, plus six per cent interest, the year after he finishes his training.

REPORTER: That's right.

MR. HERSHEY: I think there is one thing you are forgetting. You think these men are going out to work for $21.00 a month. In the first place, they are only going to work for $21.00 a month for four months; then they are going to get $30.00 a month. Remember, they are on the $1,400 and $1,500 income level, because they are getting in other commodities—such as housing and food and recreation and clothing—amounts that would count up to a very large amount of money if you figured it in actual cash. So they are going to have more money to pay on things, as far as that goes, than you think.

MR. DE VINNEY: That means that for the large group of citizens who are already making only $1,400 or $1,500 a year, their situation in the army may not be much worse in terms of total spending money and savings than before. But for anyone making more than $1,500 a year, there still is a problem of having to lose property that is being bought "on time," or of making some adjustment in the standard of living that may be rather serious for some citizens.

MR. HERSHEY: That's right! For those particular individuals.

REPORTER: Most of these people in banks and industry and insurance companies, where fixed payments have to be made, took the position that few men who are making fixed payments will be affected. In other words, they gave me the impression that they expect the unemployed, the people without responsibilities, to be called. Those are not the people, of course, who have insurance

STAMP OF LOCAL BOARD	UNITED STATES SEAL	DATE OF MAILING

ORDER OF INDUCTION INTO MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

(Prepare in Duplicate)

The President of the United States,

TO.....
(First Name) *(Middle Name)* *(Last Name)*

ORDER NUMBER..... SERIAL NUMBER.....

Greeting: Having submitted yourself to a Local Board composed of your neighbors for the purpose of determining the capacity in which you can best serve the United States (in the present emergency*), you are hereby notified that you have now been selected for immediate military service.

You will, therefore, report to the Local Board named above at.....

[Place of reporting]....., at .....[Hour of reporting]....., on

the ..... day of ....., 19.....
for military service.

From and after the day and hour just named you will be in the military service of the United States.

.....
(Member of Local Board)

[The term "military" shall comprehend both Army and Navy, including Marine Corps, except where such construction would be unreasonable.]

[See Instructions on reverse side]

S. S. Form 150

* *Probably deleted in final form.*

Reprinted from the ROUND TABLE, *July 28, 1940.*

IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO ALL MEN SELECTED FOR MILITARY SERVICE AND ORDERED TO REPORT TO A LOCAL BOARD FOR MILITARY SERVICE

*

The day and hour specified on the Classification Record of the Local Board, and on the order and notice of induction into military service contained in this notice for you to report to this Local Board for military service is the time that marks the change in your status from civil to military.

Failure to report promptly at the hour and on the day named is a grave military offense for which you may be court-martialed. Wilful failure to report with an intent to evade military service constitutes desertion, which, in time of war, is a capital offense.

Upon reporting to your Local Board, you will not need, and you should not bring with you, anything except hand baggage. You will not be permitted to take trunks or boxes with you on the train. You should take only the following articles: a pair of strong comfortable shoes; not to exceed four extra suits of underclothing; not to exceed six extra pairs of black or tan socks; four face and two bath towels; a comb, a brush, a toothbrush, soap, tooth powder, razor, and shaving soap. It will add to your comfort to bring one woolen blanket, preferably of dark or neutral color. This blanket should be tightly rolled, the ends of the roll should be securely bound together and the loop of the blanket roll thus formed slung from your left shoulder to your right hip.

You should wear rough strong clothing and a flannel shirt, preferably an olive-drab shirt of the kind issued to soldiers.

policies or automobiles they are buying on time. What do you know about that?

MR. HERSHEY: I am talking of a great number of individuals, like John Smith, who will come along and say: "I am nineteen or twenty years old; I am going to college in a year or two; in fact, I am going to save up money this year that I am in the army and I am going to volunteer." Those fellows are going to constitute a large share of the eight or nine hundred thousand. He hasn't any payments to make and he doubtless has never had a job.

MR. DE VINNEY: There is a tendency to play both ends against the middle if we say this is likely to be an "unemployed" army, and then say, "Oh, no, we are going to take them from our entire group of citizens." Because if we ask are there not going to be some rather serious problems of adjusting to the loss of a number of citizens from jobs and freezing their fixed payments, we say, "Oh, well, those that we take will not in any very important degree have these things."

REPORTER: The fellows I have talked to who think they are to be called want to know just what is going to happen to them. Colonel, when are they called? When do they leave home?

MR. HERSHEY: They will probably leave home within twenty or thirty days after they register, at the very earliest, and after that for five or six months or a year.[9]

REPORTER: We have many letters from listeners who knew we were going to discuss this subject today, asking about the housing problem. There has been an awful lot of talk—I don't know whether it is just newspaper talk—to the effect that there just isn't sufficient housing.

MR. HERSHEY: That's right! We haven't enough housing at the present time, but we have the money and within the next four

[9] *The actual order of induction, with instructions to report, may require the appearance of the prospective trainee on as little as twenty-four hours notice.*

months we will have all of the housing we need. The men will not be called until housing is available.

MR. DE VINNEY: In your capacity as the temporary administrator of the national selective service program, can you say definitely that trainees will not be taken until the physical facilities are adequate to keep them in health?

MR. HERSHEY: That's right! Not only legally, but administratively, the law says we *shall not*, and the War Department says it *will not*.[10]

MR. DE VINNEY: Then this general concern about soldiers being taken and put in ramshackle houses, or barracks, where they cannot be kept warm, and where their health is apt to be injured, has no real basis?

MR. HERSHEY: I think we need have no concern over that.

REPORTER: I get the impression that a great many men are going to be taken South because, of course, they can do more outdoor work in the winter in the South, and because the cost is less for barracks, and that sort of thing.

MR. HERSHEY: That's right!

REPORTER: Let's say a fellow from Chicago or New York or Seattle finds himself in Atlanta, or down in Texas—what about his leave? Does he get any leave at all?

MR. HERSHEY: He will get thirty days leave in the year. Transportation is not as simple, unless he rides on his thumb, because he will have to get himself back home, or wherever he goes to

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[10] *Section 3 of the law provides that* "*. . . . no men shall be inducted for such training and service until adequate provision shall have been made for such shelter, sanitary facilities, water supplies, heating and lighting arrangements, medical care, and hospital accommodations, for such men as may be determined by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be, to be essential to public and personal health.*"

spend his leave. Necessarily, at the end of his service he will be transported home, but I think you are asking particularly if he wants to spend Christmas or April Fool's Day, or some other day, at home.

MR. DE VINNEY: There is a general feeling about inducting citizens into the army which—at least, according to legend—is filled with tradition and hidebound ways of doing things, with a set of officers who hold their positions because of seniority. What about the risk of having a large amount of incompetence in the training staff of the army, and bringing in a lot of fresh men who will simply be made to go through a lot of more or less useless routine procedures, the result being that we will not get an effective fighting organization?

MR. HERSHEY: That is a problem we must meet because our officer force and noncommissioned officer force are going to be doubled, tripled and quadrupled. Eventually, all the officers that will be in the army will be individuals, by and large—ninety per cent of them—who are now civilians.

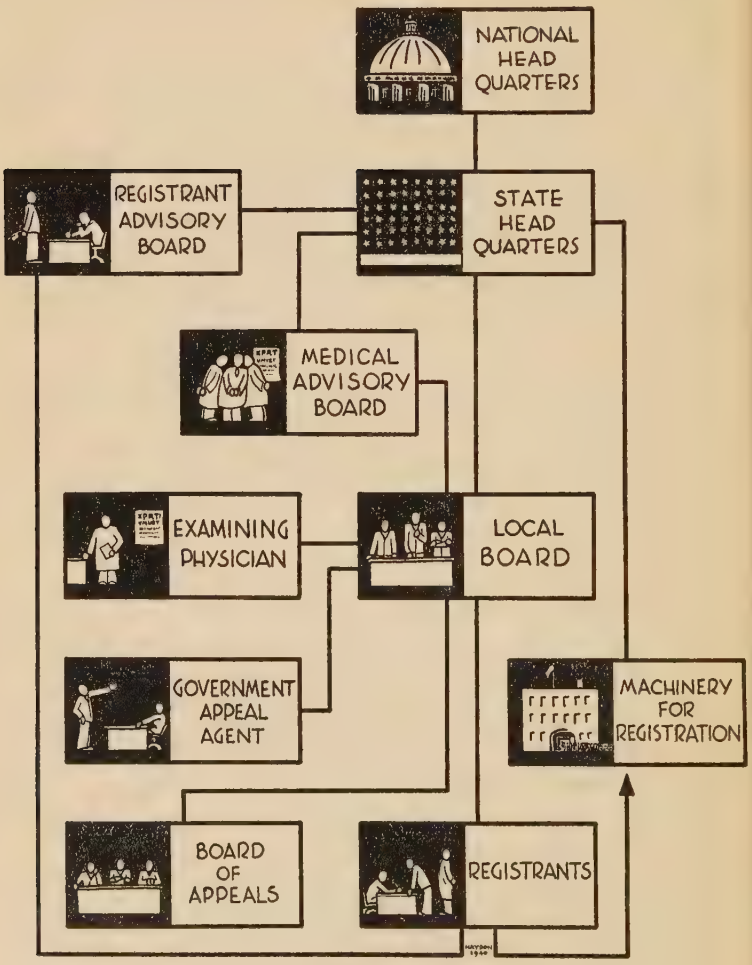
MR. DE VINNEY: That seems very important to me. How competent are they going to be?

MR. HERSHEY: In the first place, of course, they have had some training. They are reserve officers and National Guard officers. I referred particularly to the fact that they have the civilian viewpoint. They do have some instruction, and the best place to train an officer to train other people is in the field.

REPORTER: You remember that the French found out too late that the best place to train an officer was not in the field. They had a lot of old officers who had this so-called Maginot Line philosophy, and the Nazis had a lot of young men who just threw that stuff all over. What happens? We are going to have a lot of men—aren't we?—brought up as cavalrymen and they are going to have to face the problems of mechanized warfare.

I remember Carl Sandburg's story about the Missourians in the Civil War who formed a cavalry troop, but did not know any tactics.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SETUP



The head of the troop said: "Prepare to git on your critters! Git!" We have a lot of men who are a little further advanced than that, but they are going to have to learn how to say, "Prepare to git on your *tanks!* Git!"

MR. HERSHEY: It does constitute a problem, but there is this hopeful aspect to it: In the first place, a great majority of the officers that are coming in from civil life are relatively young, perhaps inexperienced, but at least flexible. It is going to take a little time. It is going to take longer, without the situation that the French were up against, but if we do have the problem of training eight hundred thousand men we will definitely be able to eliminate our incompetents, and I think the whole country will demand more from the army than they have in the past.

MR. De VINNEY: Do you really feel that there will be enough flexibility in the matter of appointing and retiring officers, to turn over those who are incompetent and get rid of them and put abler men in?

MR. HERSHEY: I think we are on common ground on that. You retire your professors at about what age around here?

MR. De VINNEY: About sixty-five.

MR. HERSHEY: We beat you. We retire them at sixty-four at the very latest, and many of them earlier, so you see we are up against the same problem educating men in the army that you face in educating students here, and let us pray that we both do better than we have, perhaps, in the past.

MR. De VINNEY: We do drop a good many men before they get to top rank if they don't make the grade.

MR. HERSHEY: We drop a great majority of our people. It is a very small percentage of our people that ever get to sixty-four.

MR. De VINNEY: A very important problem for a democracy that is launching on a program of training its citizens in the army is the general question of how much army training is working at cross purposes with democratic ideas of life.

REPORTER: Here is a letter the ROUND TABLE received from a man in Brookline, Massachusetts, who asks us:

"Will not this compulsory draft affect and change the life, thought, and mode of living, of the American people from that of the traditional free democracy to one of a regimented society where large numbers will be controlled by the military?"

MR. HERSHEY: I have heard many people say that we are taking a year out of a boy's life. I think in terms of my own two sons, who are about seventeen and nineteen. We can put a year *into* their life, when we make reasonable efforts to better their health, give them some chance to do things and become self-reliant, and give them an understanding of men. By the way, the vice-president of a gelatin company—who served during the last war as an enlisted man—told me that he would not give all that he possesses for the year he had when he actually lived as an enlisted man in the army. He said he learned more about handling labor in that way than he ever has before or since.

MR. DE VINNEY: I have to confess that I have certain reservations about self-reliance and the democratic aspect of training in the army under a situation where, let us say, enlisted men are not allowed to eat in the same restaurant with officers and have to go through a large amount of routine observance of the caste system. But closely associated with that, and very important, are a few problems about what you are going to do with an atypical individual. What about the Negro in the army? I understand they are to be segregated.[11]

MR. HERSHEY: I think you are right about that. You people hand us a problem every time we induct a Negro. He comes from a place where you have worked a certain amount of segregation in the city that he lives in and we have to struggle with that problem. We are going to use Negro officers with Negro troops. We are going to give those individuals the same opportunities that we give others.

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[11] *The number of Negroes in a draft of 400,000 will be from 35,000 to 45,000.*

It is a problem, but it is a problem that is presented to us; we did not make the problem.

MR. DE VINNEY: You feel that the Negro will have the same opportunity to become a high commanding officer in his own regiment as the white officer in the white regiment?

MR. HERSHEY: I doubt that a little bit, but just the same he will have an opportunity to become an officer.

REPORTER: Look here, Colonel! I talked to Walter White—who is the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—who tells me that there isn't a single Negro now being trained as a pilot, and there are plenty of them who have the capacity to be pilots.

MR. HERSHEY: I think you are right, Mr. Reporter, as of today, but as of six weeks from now I doubt if that will be true because aviation is open to the Negro.

MR. DE VINNEY: Another problem is presented by the conscientious objector to a military training program. What are you going to do about the man whose conscience dictates that he refuse to participate in a military training program?

MR. HERSHEY: That man can serve on government service, and we are now making plans for something that he can do that is in no way connected with the army.[12]

REPORTER: What if he refuses any sort of government service at all, as some religious sects do?

MR. HERSHEY: That we hope to overcome by education, and it is regrettable if it should happen. We are trying very hard to get them all to register because it in no way infringes on their rights to claim any sort of deferment later.

MR. DE VINNEY: Apparently, the man who refuses to register, or the man who after he has registered is not willing to participate in any sort of service, is in for a hard time.

---

[12] *Either in noncombatant service with the army or navy or in special government work under civilian direction.*

MR. HERSHEY: I hope we will have very, very few of them.

MR. DE VINNEY: I take it from this discussion that, while sixteen and a half million people are going to register on Wednesday, only about one in forty will be inducted this first year into selective training. These percentages are, apparently, going to be taken primarily from the younger men who have fewest ties in civil life and, therefore, whose removal from civil life will have the least disrupting influence.

REPORTER: And we are hoping it is not to be only the unemployed.

MR. DE VINNEY: It seems very likely that it may turn out to be primarily the unemployed and people in low-income groups. However, this selection will be in the hands of local boards of citizens who have the authority to decide who shall be deferred and who shall not, and if people feel that they are subjected to arbitrary treatment they may appeal to higher boards for assistance.

SUGGESTED READINGS

BALDWIN, ROGER N., "If You Are a Conscientious Objector," *Nation*, October 12, 1940. *The problem of conscientious objectors—religious, political, and "ethical"—reviewed by the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, himself imprisoned in the last war as an objector.*

CELLER, EMANUEL, *The Draft and You.* New York: Viking Press, 1940. *A brief, comprehensive volume personalizing the effect of the draft on the individual citizen; with reproductions of various registration and questionnaire forms.*

COLE, HUGH; WRIGHT, QUINCY; THE ROVING REPORTER, "Should America Conscript Men Now?" a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE broadcast July 28, 1940. *A pro and con discussion of conscription and its problems.*

COWLEY, MALCOLM, "This Man's Army," *New Republic*, September 23, 1940. *A critical view of the life offered a potential draftee, with some comments on officer personnel and discipline.*

"The Draft," *Time*, October 14, 1940. *Some aspects of selective service briefly reviewed with special attention to registration problems.*

"The Effect of the Draft on Employment," *United States News*, September 27, 1940. *A consideration of some of the problems the nation's industrial machine will face with one per cent of its labor supply being withdrawn from productive work by the draft.*

"Where the Draft Will Be Felt," *Newsweek*, October 4, 1940. *A special pictograph of the number of men to be taken by the draft in each state.*

"Youth Ready to Shoulder Arms in Our First Peacetime Draft," *Newsweek*, September 23, 1940. *The details of draft registration and of selection for army and navy duty briefly discussed.*

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What are the approximate odds against the average man being drafted? Page 3.
2. How much is it estimated the government will spend to give a conscript one year of military training? Page 3.
3. Give two reasons advanced against a draft of unemployed men only. Page 5.
4. What two steps may a prospective draftee take if he feels his local board has treated him unfairly? Page 6.
5. How are the local boards chosen? Page 8.
6. What legal protection is offered the draftee against unemployment after his training period is over? Page 8.
7. What will be the rate of pay for men drafted for military service? Page 12.
8. What is estimated to be the total income of drafted men when free food, clothing, shelter, recreation, etc., are included? Page 12.
9. What is the estimated percentage of officers training draftees who will themselves have come from civilian life? Page 17.
10. What is the position of the Negro in relation to the Air Corps? Pages 20–21.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 23.

*

1. Do you think the draft will affect primarily the unemployed? Discuss.
2. List some of the immediate personal problems the draft may raise for you or someone you know—such as rent, insurance, and mortgage payments, job protection, care of dependents, and so forth. How do you think each of these should be solved?
3. One of the greatest worries of men liable to be drafted is whether they will get their jobs back when they return from training. Do you think the present legal protection of jobs is sufficient? Should they be more specific? Do you think return of employment will be guaranteed by public opinion? If so, in what way?
4. Discuss the probable lot of the conscientious objector to military service. Do you think he is likely to end up in jail? on noncombatant military service? on nonmilitary service for the government? or may nothing at all be done about him? Would you make any distinction between religious objectors (like the Quakers) and political objectors who consider the draft to be dictatorial?
5. How do you think the Negro will fare under the conscription system? Do you believe a proportionate number of Negroes will be inducted into the services? Do you think a proportionate number will become officers? Discuss.
6. Discuss the likelihood of arbitrary actions on the part of local selective service boards and the protections offered draftees against such actions.

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "Crisis in the East," September 29.*

*

New Friend

In passing I wish to say that this is the first time I have had the privilege and pleasure of listening to your broadcasts and I feel most fortunate in becoming aware of the valuable service you are affording the listeners of this country. Such forthright and intelligent discussions of the subjects near to the hearts of all in the land is not only most worthy of hearty support but should be encouraged by all those who wish to get a clearer picture of the many problems that confront US (which is the U.S.).

C. G. M., California

*

Well!

Over the radio, in our press, pulpit, office, home . . . . we must constantly tell *The American People* about unity; loyalty to the U.S.A.; courage; immediate *Total* defense; *all* aid to Britain; purge our fifth column; remove Nazis from key positions in this country.

All German aviation must be pushed out of South America and ours take its place.

We must make sure of this: destruction of Hitler and that there must never be another Germany.

A German American member of Milwaukee's Nazi Bund
(who would destroy the Nazis at the risk of his life).

*

Who's to Blame?

I realize, with the registration for the draft October 16, that you want to make our boys think it is a privilege to be trained to go to war to be shot by our scrap iron shipped to Japan, and to meet military planes supplied to Germany after 1932, contrary to our treaty not to re-arm Germany.

It would be interesting to have you inform us in regard to who is selling America's soul for a dollar sign. We have shipped over 8½ million tons of scrap iron to Japan and large oil companies are making gasoline just a few octanes below specifications and shipping it constantly to Japan. A shipload of mercury for explosives is ready to sail now from Los Angeles harbor. Why work up a war against those we have aided 3 years?

This draft bill will go down in history as one of the most contemptible things the United States has ever done. Did not Canada raise 1/7 of her total population and send them to the World War without a compulsory draft?

L. L. O., California

*

South America

I am a seafaring man and only a couple months ago I was in Chile. I made a point to find out a few things while in Valparaiso. I saw most all saloons of any importance operated by Germans. They even give the places German names such as Cafe Bremen, Hamburg, Deutschland, and many others. I went into several of those places and found many Nazis in them. When they heard me ask for a drink in English they went into a whispering conversation. But as I am able to understand German I found out that their talks were against the English and the *verdammte Amerikaner*.

There also are clothing stores, butcher shops, groceries, and hardware stores all operated by Germans. They also have a daily paper, while there is only a weekly paper printed in Santiago in English.

I spent one year in Venezuela and the Germans are plentiful there. I was there for the Gulf Refining Co. on small tankers in and out of Maricaibo and Las Pedros. They are well scattered all over South America holding high positions and business places and know pretty well all the movements that go on in the government offices where they are located.

A. A. V., Virginia

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76. *Europe on the Verge.* August 27
77. *War Comes.* September 3
78. *Will There Be a Blackout of Peace in America?* September 10
79. *The High Cost of Living*
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113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
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120. *Economic Union for the Americas*
121. *Civil Liberties and the Fifth Column*
122. *M-Day and America*
123. *Heading for the White House*
124. *Should America Conscript Men Now?*
125. *The New France*
126. *What Really Happened at Havana?*
127. *Willkie Accepts*
128. *Blitzkrieg on Britain.*
129. *Should America Aid Britain?*
130. *Should America Feed Europe?*
131. *Can Germany Conquer Latin America?*
132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
133. *Crisis in the East*
134. *Will Hitler Attack America Next?* October 6

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Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1370	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	780
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	740	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	New York, N.Y	WEAF	660
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	780
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1210	Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1220
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Minneapolis and		
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Duluth, Minn., and			New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1310	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Houston, Texas	KPRC	920	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Denver, Colo.	KOA	590			

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200

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Should We Woo Russia?

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

OCTOBER 20, 1940

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SPEAKERS TO BE ANNOUNCED

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SUGGESTED READINGS

SOLOVEYTCHIK, G., "Russia and Europe," *Contemporary Review*, September, 1940.

"Power Politics and the Soviet," *Saturday Review of Literature*, July 20, 1940. (A book review.)

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ROUND TABLE

A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

THE BALKANS AFLAME

PETER DRUCKER · RICHARD BURKS · LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

348th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY · 136

OCTOBER 20, 1940

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

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No. 136

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

THE BALKANS AFLAME

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

●

PETER F. DRUCKER, Former Editor, *Frankfurter Generalanzeiger*

RICHARD BURKS, Instructor in History, Wayne University Detroit, Michigan

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, Professor of Modern History, University of Chicago

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, October 20, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

THE BALKANS AFLAME

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MR. GOTTSCHALK: Well, gentlemen, events in Europe seem to be happening with embarrassing speed once more. Here are you, Drucker, obliged to fly from New York, and you, Burks, obliged to fly from Detroit, in order to take part in a discussion of an event that has happened within the last forty-eight hours. You don't suppose, Drucker, that this development was only of the last forty-eight hours?

MR. DRUCKER: It seems to me that Hitler and Mussolini, when they met at the Brenner Pass two weeks ago, decided to give us another free geography lesson.[1] First, it was Poland, and then Norway, and then France, and now it looks like Turnu-Severin, and Belgrade, and all the Balkan countries. It seems that the Axis powers are shifting the major front of the war to the East and away from the Channel.

MR. BURKS: It is quite obvious that the front has been shifted to the East. The six Balkan nations are mobilizing their armies; the

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[1] *Premier Mussolini and Chancellor Hitler met Saturday, October 5, at the Brenner Pass for what official communiqués stated was a "routine exchange of views" on the military and political situation. With them at the Brenner were Count Ciano and Joachim von Ribbentrop, Italian and German Foreign Ministers respectively. This was the first meeting of the two dictator-leaders of the Axis since June 18, after the collapse of France.*

DEFENSES IN THE BALKANS

Axis has presented demands to Greece which, if accepted, will transform Greece into a German puppet state.[2]

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[2] *These demands, as reported in the press, were: for the cessation of all economic relations between Greece and Great Britain; for the ceding of a strip of Greek territory to Albania (under Italian rule); the granting of a strip of Greek territory to Bulgaria, so that Bulgaria might have access to the Aegean; the abdication of King George II of Greece and the resignation of the present government of Premier Metaxas; and the granting of Greek air bases to Germany and Italy.*

MR. DRUCKER: And Rumania seems to have been "peacefully conquered." Bulgaria, an old ally of Germany, seems to be added to the sea of German troops again.[3]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: We will have to get out new maps that, instead of showing Edinburgh, Liverpool and London, will show Turnu-Severin, Philippopolis, Trebizond, and other eastern cities.

MR. DRUCKER: And that this is an important development you can assume from the fact that British diplomatic representatives in the Balkans and the Near East have been hurriedly summoned to Constantinople for conference.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Why should the Axis powers be interested in the penetration of the Balkans? Drucker, you are familiar with the Balkans from your long experience as a newspaperman in that area.

MR. DRUCKER: You have heard about Balkan raw materials and Rumanian oil. It is not much oil compared with what the United States produces. It is only one-thirtieth part of American production, but it is all there is in Europe.[4] It is about two per cent of total world production.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: About as much as Ohio alone produces.

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[3] *German "military instructors" and "police" are reported to have entered Rumania, and Yugoslavia last week signed an economic agreement with Germany which Foreign Minister Markovitch stated also provided for the broadest sort of political collaboration.*

[4] *The 1939 production of crude petroleum in Rumania amounted to 46,000,000 barrels (each of 42 gallons), 2.2 per cent of the total world production, according to the Mineral Map of Europe. Almost all this production came from the Dambovitza and Prahova fields. Production in the United States in 1939 amounted to 1,266,500,000 barrels, 61 per cent of the world total.*

MR. DRUCKER: A little more than Ohio, but it is not a major oil-producing region.

MR. BURKS: You must not forget that there is bauxite in Yugoslavia.[5]

MR. DRUCKER: And wheat in the Danube Basin, and cattle and hogs.

MR. BURKS: But as a matter of fact the Germans received all of these things before they began the penetration of the Balkans.

MR. DRUCKER: That is perfectly true. They have had access to them now for, you might say, three or four years; but still it looks very much as if the Balkans were about to blow up and I believe the Germans felt they had to march in.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I take it, then, there is a disagreement between you two: that Burks maintains that they had it without going in there; you maintain that they had it but were in danger of losing it.

MR. BURKS: I insist that the raw materials were not sufficient motive for the penetration.

MR. DRUCKER: I would agree with you, only the Balkans, as you know, were on the verge of a civil war and there was danger of Russian and British intervention, so the Germans probably felt that they had to act to insure the availability of those supplies.

MR. BURKS: In other words, the Germans went into the Balkans to "freeze" the situation there, and to prevent the formation of another battle front in the southeast.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That is a third point. We have said that they need the foodstuffs and other war materials, and that they

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[5] *For a pictomap of the mineral resources of the Balkans, see page 7.*

want to prevent a general Balkan war. You are raising a third factor—strategy.

MR. BURKS: I should like to note that since the World War the German general staff has thought of a second front to their rear as a sort of nightmare.

MR. DRUCKER: You two historians, who make your living from teaching about Napoleon and the French Revolution, should not forget that the Germans are acting on very good precedent. They are just following in Napoleon's footsteps eastward.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I am glad you brought in my friend Napoleon. It is true that Napoleon did try to invade England and found it impossible to do so, and therefore turned to the Near East —to the same area we are now dealing with—except that he tried to go from Egypt northward, whereas the Germans seem to be going from the north southward.

MR. BURKS: As a matter of fact, you don't have to go back to Napoleon to find precedent for what is happening in the Balkans at this moment. After the Germans were stopped at the battle of Ypres in 1915, they proceeded to go into the Balkans in the hope of breaking the British blockade, and I suggest that the real objective here, in the penetration of the Balkans, is a counter move, a flanking attack, on the English Channel by breaking through the blockade.

MR. DRUCKER: What would breaking through get them?

MR. BURKS: In the first place, Germany would get control of the resources of the Middle East—the section that stretches to the south of the Balkans. They would get, for example, oil and cotton; but, much more important, they would get an outlet to the Indian Ocean which would allow them to import virtually all they needed to continue their military policy indefinitely and thus make the British blockade impossible.

BALKAN RESOURCES

MR. DRUCKER: So you would say that this is definitely a bid for world domination on the part of the Germans; that is, the first step in establishing a world empire?

MR. BURKS: I think there is no question about that.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It is very important that we should not forget that Germany seeks not merely world domination but also supplies.

MR. DRUCKER: Don't the two go together?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Yes, they do; but I want to bring out the point that there is more oil in the Middle East—in the territory between India and the Balkans—than there is in the Balkans.[6]

MR. DRUCKER: And coffee, and all the mineral resources of Turkey. Nobody knows how large they are, but they are pretty large.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: And there is an objective that the Nazis have in mind on the way toward the Middle East.

MR. DRUCKER: You mean the Dardanelles?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: The Dardanelles and the eastern Mediterranean in general.

MR. BURKS: As a matter of fact, the Germans want the Straits for very good strategic reasons. Having them, they can dominate this whole region between the Balkans and India.

MR. DRUCKER: Yes, it is certainly true that the Dardanelles today, even more than during the nineteenth century, are the back door to all three major empires in Europe: German, Russian, and British. Whoever controls the Straits practically controls the European Continent. Isn't that even more true today?

MR. BURKS: Yes, von Papen recently remarked that Germany could allow no other power to control the Straits.[7]

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[6] *In 1936 the oil fields of Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Iran (Persia) contributed 93,000,000 barrels of crude petroleum (5.2 per cent of the world total), while the Rumanian production was 63,655,000 barrels (3.5 per cent of world production).*

[7] *Franz von Papen, German Chancellor in 1932; formerly a member of the "Zentrum," or German Center party (a Catholic political organization in the days of Republican Germany), is now an active collaborator with the Nazis.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That reminds me that Bismarck once said that the whole Balkan question was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier. Apparently von Papen, and other Germans since von Papen was the chief minister of Germany, disagree with Bismarck. They find it is worth more than the bones of a great many Pomeranian grenadiers.

MR. DRUCKER: The Germans obviously think it worth while to take the war down there in order to control the Balkans, don't they?

MR. BURKS: In fact, the control of the Straits by the Germans, I am willing to maintain, means a virtual permanent hegemony over Europe and the Near East.[8]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Is there any possibility of this being done by diplomatic rather than by military means? Apparently Eden has gone into Syria, that little strategic country south of Turkey on the eastern Mediterranean coast. I understand there are Germans there, too. Is that your impression, Drucker?

MR. DRUCKER: Since the French collapse I believe Syria has become the vital spot in the eastern Mediterranean, because all British plans were based on the expectation that they could send an army straight into Turkey from Egypt and Palestine. Now they can't do that any more since Syria is neutral, and I believe that is perhaps their weakest spot.

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[8] *In this grouping of the Near and Middle East are Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran (Persia), and Afghanistan, all nominally independent; the tribal areas of Arabia, including Oman, Yemen, Hejaz, etc., quasi-independent or under British "advisorship" and the French and British possessions. Syria (with Latakia and the Lebanon) is French. Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Cyprus, and Kuwait on the Persian Gulf are British.*

TURKEY'S DEFENSES

ISTAMBUL AND THE BOSPORUS

MR. BURKE: As a matter of fact, the Straits are far too important to leave to diplomatic negotiations. From the point of view of diplomacy and law, the Russians at present control them as a result of the Montreux Convention of 1936, but that is only on paper.[9]

MR. DRUCKER: Have the Russians got the navy to control the Straits? or has Turkey?[10]

MR. BURKS: That is the point.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Treaties are only scraps of paper, unfortunately, in the present European situation.

MR. BURKS: In any European situation.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I am interested in Syria because my friend Napoleon got stuck in Syria, you remember. Apparently, you think the Germans are not going to be stuck there.

MR. DRUCKER: They still have to cross fifteen or sixteen hundred miles of Turkish desert and mountains—quite the most rugged mountains in the old world—before they reach Syria. Still it will make it very difficult for England to support Turkey, unless troops can pass through Syria.

MR. BURKS: We have brought out very clearly that the German penetration of the Balkans has brought an attack on the

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[9] *The Montreux Convention is an agreement reached at a conference held in Montreux, Switzerland, in June and July, 1936. Participants discussing the Straits problem were Japan, Turkey, Great Britain, France, Rumania, Greece, Turkey, and Russia. The conference agreed upon Turkish re-militarization of the Straits and set up conditions for the closing of the Straits and for the passage through them of warships and merchant vessels.*

[10] *The strength of the Russian and Turkish Black Sea fleets is shown in the illustration on page 3.*

Straits, and that the attack is a flanking movement against Britain. There is a more fundamental consideration which no one has raised, that once the Germans claim the Straits, and subsequently Suez and the whole Middle East, they will be in a position to create the new world order which they have so often preached, without bothering about England.

MR. DRUCKER: You mean that control of the Dardanelles would enble them to start the permanent reconstruction of Europe even with the war going on.?

MR. BURKS: Even with the war going on.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Before you go into that, I think we ought to make a little clearer what we have tried to show so far. We have indicated that there are several good motives for the Germans going into the Balkans. First, they are after war materials—particularly foodstuffs and metals, and things of that kind. More important, they sought to guarantee shipments from the Balkans by preventing a general war. In the third place they want the Balkans as a base of attack upon the British Empire to the east and south.

Now you raise a fourth point—the reorganization of Europe.

MR. DRUCKER: It seems important to me because the Balkans are not only strategically the key, but they are politically and socially the key, to Germany's plans for reorganizing Europe on Hitler's terms.

MR. BURKS: Just what do the Germans plan to do with this region after they conquer it?

MR. DRUCKER: The Germans have two plans, completely contradictory and conflicting, and they don't seem to know themselves which one they are going to propose.

MR. BURKS: What are these plans?

MR. DRUCKER: One plan is to use the Balkans as the bread basket of Europe . . . .

MR. GOTTSCHALK: But the soil is bad in the Balkans, you say.

MR. DRUCKER: As you know, the Balkans are the most overpopulated agricultural area in Europe. The six Balkan countries—Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania—have about sixty-five million people living on an area about as large as the eastern part of the Middle West, that would be three times as dense a population as in the eastern mid-western states.[11]

MR. BURKS: And they live in a condition of poverty which we in America cannot contemplate.

MR. DRUCKER: The average farmer has two or three acres.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: A sort of "share-cropper" without a share.

MR. DRUCKER: And without a crop, too, because the soil is stony. I know a farmer in Bulgaria's most fertile district who is al-

[11]

Country	*Population*	*Area*
Bulgaria	*6,171,300 (1937)*	*40,000 sq. mi.*
Hungary	*11,137,993 (1939)*	*40,500 sq. mi.*
Rumania	*19,535,398 (1937)*	*114,000 sq. mi.*
Albania	*1,003,124 (1930)*	*10,500 sq. mi.*
Greece	*7,196,900 (1938)*	*50,250 sq. mi.*
Yugoslavia	*15,630,000 (1939)*	*95,500 sq. mi.*

These figures for area and population are for periods before the transfer of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to Russia, certain sections of Transylvania to Hungary, and Southern Dobrujja to Bulgaria. Turkey, which is at present undertaking a census, had a population of 16,158,018 in 1935.

most regarded as a millionaire because he has a cow. The others have only a few goats and a little corn, and a cow in that valley represents a major capital investment which few can afford.

MR. BURKS: If the region is so heavily populated and so poverty-stricken, how can the Germans create a prosperous and stable empire out of it?

MR. DRUCKER: It is not a question of creating a stable, prosperous empire, it is a question of neutralizing the tremendous population pressure. The Balkan peoples are multiplying at a rate you don't find equaled anywhere else in Europe. They have increased their population by more than twenty per cent since the World War. The Germans have to neutralize that problem if they want to get a permanent European empire; hence, the second program, to shift all European industries into the Balkans.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Isn't it true that the Germans have tended to transplant their industries farther and farther East?

MR. BURKS: Out of the way of British bombers, you mean.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: British, and possibly American bombers, because they must have that in mind.

MR. DRUCKER: Not only that, but the great Goering program for revamping Europe and the whole world, which provides for all French and Dutch and Belgian industries to be moved eastward into the Balkans, means that he wants to paralyze the former Western European democracies completely.

MR. BURKS: In other words, you are implying that the use of the Balkans as a bread basket for Germany is more or less a wartime scheme, and that this shift of industry is the long-run policy.

MR. DRUCKER: A five, ten, or perhaps twenty years' plan to completely revamp Europe.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Your point is that the Axis powers are so sure of victory that they are thinking in long-run terms now, not merely of immediate advantages in this war against England.

MR. DRUCKER: You might also put it the other way. You might say they are so unsure of victory that they feel they have to reorganize Europe in a hurry in order to consolidate what they have.

MR. BURKS: I would argue it this way: that once they have consolidated this situation—and I believe they can control this area effectively—they can simply shove England to one side and say: "We have what we want; we know we can't invade your island, but we will keep on bombing it until you admit that you are now a third-rate power without any influence on the European Continent."

MR. DRUCKER: That is the German scheme, but I keep asking myself whether they can keep control of the Balkans.

MR. BURKS: I think they can. As a matter of fact, the modern technique of controlling masses of subject peoples is a relatively easy thing.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: They certainly have been able to hold the Czechoslovaks so far.

MR. BURKS: And the Poles.

MR. DRUCKER: I wonder. I know the Balkans a little bit and I once talked with Milan Czarinkanovitch in some godforsaken little mountain village. He is a man of about eighty. When the Turks were still the rulers of the territory some seventy years ago he was an outlaw because as a child he shot every Turkish policeman at sight. Then when the Austrians came in he was the great popular hero. Three years later the Austrians put a price on his head because he began shooting their policemen. Then he was a great popular hero when that territory was liberated in 1918. Later

BALKAN RAILROADS

-------- SINGLE TRACK R.R. —— DOUBLE TRACK R.R.

•••••••• BORDERS

the Yugoslav government put a price on his head. He is again in the mountains shooting a pretty smooth rifle. It is quite typical.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I recognize the significance of national heroes in creating a national spirit, but mechanically the situation is very different now.

MR. BURKS: All the Germans have to have is a few third-rate machine-gun battalions at important towns and rail heads.

MR. DRUCKER: They can keep the towns and the rail heads because there aren't many railroads, and as long as the people have nothing to lose and are ready to take to the hills, how are you going to control them?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think we have made it fairly clear that the motives of the Germans are important, at least to the Germans. Not only do they want materials, and to prevent a general Balkan war, and a place from which to attack England in the east and south of the Balkans, but they also have in mind a plan for the entire reorganization of Europe, which has both immediate and long-term influences.

Can they get away with it? Is there any way of stopping Hitler?

MR. BURKS: You can be sure of one thing: that no Balkan country can stop him; that the military position of Greece and Yugoslavia is utterly hopeless.

MR. DRUCKER: Yes, they are extremely weak and extremely poor. Maybe if they had joined up two years ago, instead of fighting each other, they might have prevented the conquest.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It seems too late now for them to agree, and yet I see that Turkey has offered to aid Greece if Greece is invaded, and the Yugoslavs have said they will fight rather than surrender. Is that all empty talk?

MR. BURKS: As a matter of fact, the Turks have a very good reputation for fighting but, unfortunately, I am convinced that they can't stop the Germans alone.

MR. DRUCKER: Have the Turks any planes to fight with?

MR. BURKS: They have about 350 planes.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: How big an army do they have? They say they can put two million men on the front.

MR. BURKS: That's ridiculous! They have a regular army of two hundred thousand men and reserves of seven hundred thousand, but they have equipment for only a total of three hundred thousand men.

MR. DRUCKER: Do you think it is true that the Italians have about 1,500 airplanes on those island bases just outside Turkey, from which they can bomb the three major cities?[12]

MR. BURKS: I think they have, and I think it is perfectly obvious—in view of the condition of the Turkish air force; in view of the fact that Turkey lacks industries—that the Axis powers could literally wipe out the chief cities and rail heads in Turkey.

MR. DRUCKER: And all the Turks could do would be to take to the hills.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: You talk about the hills and the desert. The terrain will be on their side.

MR. DRUCKER: Yes, it will. On the other hand, all the Germans want is control of the railroads and of the main highways. Just look at Ethiopia. Certainly the Italians have an enormous problem of guerrilla warfare on their hands there, but still it hasn't stopped them from attacking the British naval bases.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: The Chinese seem to have stopped the Japanese by guerrilla warfare. Why can't the Turks stop the Germans?

MR. DRUCKER: The Japanese have succeeded in keeping open their main lines of communication in spite of the Chinese guerrilla warfare.

MR. BURKS: Furthermore, there are a great many more Chinese than there are Turks. There are only sixteen million Turks.

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[12] *In the Dodecanese Islands, lying off the southeastern coast of Turkey. See map, page 3.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That is true, and, of course, it is quite problematical whether the Turks will want to run the risk of fighting.

MR. DRUCKER: Don't forget that those sixteen million Turks live on an area about as large as all of your Rocky Mountain states taken together—an enormous area hardly populated at all.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It is quite clear that the Turks alone, or the Turks together with the Balkan powers, are not going to be able to handle this situation. Can't the Turks get aid from Britain?

MR. DRUCKER: Britain has an agreement to aid Turkey and there are general staff talks going on all the time, aren't there?

MR. BURKS: Turkey has an agreement to come to Britain's aid if Britain comes to the aid of Greece, under the guarantee the British gave to Greece a year ago last April.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Can't the Turkish army and the British navy hold the Dardanelles? Wouldn't that seem a possibility?

MR. BURKS: I don't think so. I am willing to admit that the British navy is far superior to the Italian navy; that the British have six or seven capital ships, and that while the Italians have, let us say, six battleships there are only two of them that can look the British battle wagons in the face. But if the British have to go into the Dardanelles, through the Straits, and eastward into the Black Sea, they are going to split their forces so as to render their position a very dangerous one.[13]

MR. DRUCKER: Still, if the British navy can prevent the German army from crossing the Dardanelles—in 1915 the Germans and the Turks proved to the British that a small force could hold those rocky Strait coasts—then you might say that the Germans could be prevented at least from cashing in on that experience.[14]

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[13] *For a map of Istambul and the Bosporus, see page 10.*

[14] *That is, from the British attempts to land at Gallipoli.*

MR. BURKS: This is a different strategic situation, though. A bunch of British battle wagons in the Straits would be more or less concentrated where ten thousand Nazi planes and 1,500 Italian planes could drop bombs on their necks.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Apparently, Britain's ability to help the Turks is somewhat in dispute between you two gentlemen. Let's drop that for a minute because I want to get to Russia. Possibly we will agree better on Russia. Can Russia do anything to stop Hitler on this situation?

MR. DRUCKER: It seems to me that Russia is even more endangered by German moves than is Britain. I mean, Russia simply cannot afford to have any foreign power close the Straits.

MR. BURKS: As a matter of fact, the control of the Straits has been the major point in Russian foreign policy for two hundred years—since the time of Peter the Great.[15]

MR. DRUCKER: How many wars did the Turks have to fight with the Russians? Eighteen or twenty-two, wasn't it?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It does seem that it is one of the cardinal points of Russian foreign policy not to allow any other great power to control the Dardanelles.

MR. BURKS: And the significance of the control of the Dardanelles for the Russians is well illustrated by the fact that when the British failed to open the way to Russia in 1915, Russia collapsed, and underwent a revolution.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It seems to me there isn't much the Russians can do about it under the present circumstances.

MR. DRUCKER: I concur in that, but can the Russians afford to fight with Germany over the Straits?

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[15] *Peter I, ruler of Russia, 1682–1725, and first Emperor.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That is the point I want to make. Russia cannot afford to let the Germans get in. It cannot afford to fight the Germans to keep them out. It will, therefore, follow the line of least resistance, which is not to fight.

It seems to me, therefore, that we have painted a rather mournful picture. The Balkan nations themselves cannot resist effectively. Turkey, if she resists, will also be ineffective unless she is supported. Russia is likely to find it wiser to remain inactive for a consideration than to split with the Axis powers. Hence, Britain will have to fight alone, or probably will have to fight alone. American aid to Britain becomes vital, therefore, if Britain is not to be obliged to weaken her naval defenses around England in order to maintain her strength in the Mediterranean. Hence, she needs more war ships and airplanes as rapidly as we can furnsh them.

This is rather a mournful picture, gentlemen, is it not?

MR. DRUCKER: Yes, but we left out the question of whether Italy and Germany might not come to blows over it. What is your opinion on that?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That seems to me extremely unlikely. Doesn't it seem so to you, Burks?

MR. BURKS: It seems extremely unlikely, especially in view of the fact that if the Germans and Italians come to blows there would not be much left for the Italians.

MR. DRUCKER: So the real hope of stopping Germany depends on the Balkans being strong enough or unruly enough or rebellious enough to give the Germans plenty of trouble, and I am sure they will.

MR. BURKS: The real hope we have is that through American aid the Germans can be stopped at the Straits, and I am insisting that if they are not stopped at the Straits they cannot be stopped—either with respect to the broad problem of winning the war or with

respect to the immediate question of reorganizing that area of the world.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It is indeed a mournful picture. Perhaps there is some consolation for us in the speech which Churchill made some weeks ago, when he said: "Even if the Germans stand on the shore of the Suez Canal, even if they stand on the banks of the Ganges, it will do them no good if their industries lie in ruins behind them in Germany."

SUGGESTED READINGS

"Drang Nach Osten," *Nation*, October 19, 1940. *The German push towards the Straits analyzed with a view to Russian and British intentions and possible efforts to halt it.*

Fuqua, Major-General Stephen O., "The Axis Shift to the Balkans," *Newsweek*, October 21, 1940. *Causes and purposes of the new Nazi-Italian push.*

Gunther, John, *Inside Europe.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. *Includes chapters on Rumania, Hungary, and the other Balkan states.*

Mosely, Philip E., "Transylvania Partitioned," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1940. *A comprehensive résumé of the Transylvania prob-*

lem, up to and including the Vienna agreement dividing the area between Hungary and Rumania.

———, "Is Bessarabia Next?" *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1940. *An article outlining the status of Bessarabia, both before and since the World War, mapping ethnic groups in populations.*

PRATT, ADMIRAL WILLIAM V., "The British Navy Confronts Axis Push to the East," *Newsweek*, October 21, 1940. *Naval aid to the Balkans and the possibilities of British help materializing.*

"Southern Theatre," *Time*, October 21, 1940. *The latest developments in the Balkans summarized.*

VITON, ALBERT, "Nightmare in the Near East," *Asia*, November, 1940. *The Axis plans for the Mediterranean and the Near East examined, with some attention to the British policies and to the military situation should the Axis invade the Balkans and endeavor to strike through Turkey east to Iraq and Iran or south to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.*

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OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What meeting of the dictators presumably gave the "go" sign to Axis penetration of the Balkan area? Page 2.
2. Rumanian oil represents what percentage of total annual American production? What percentage of world production? Page 4.
3. In addition to oil, list three raw materials and foodstuffs the Axis obtains from the Balkan states. Page 5.
4. Give four reasons why the Axis may be seeking domination of the Balkans. Page 12.
5. What area is "the backdoor to . . . . the German, the Russian, and the British . . . . empires"? Page 8.
6. Name the six Balkan nations? Page 13.
7. What are the two German plans for the reorganization of the Balkan area? Pages 13–14.
8. What is the population of the Balkan area? What is the approximate area of the six nations? Page 13.
9. The population of the Balkan area has increased by approximately what per cent since the War? Page 14.
10. What is the size of the Turkish air force and army? Page 17.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 22–23.

*

1. Considering the foodstuffs and raw materials that Germany (and Italy) may obtain from the Balkan area, do you feel these supplies will be increased or decreased in quantity and quality if the Axis actually controls these nations?
2. Do you believe the control of subject populations by Germany—the Poles, the Czechs, the Belgians, for example—is going to be easier or more difficult than the control of similar populations twenty or even one hundred years ago? Discuss.
3. Discuss the strategic problem of the Balkans and the Dardanelles in terms of possible Axis flanking attacks on the British Empire, the menace of a pincers movement from Syria and Libya against Egypt, and the breaking of the British blockade with supplies from the Near and Middle East. Do you feel that strategic or raw material factors were more important in determining Axis pressure on the Balkans?
4. Summarize your interpretation of the role Russia is to play in the Balkan situation.
5. The military problem of the Balkans, of the Straits, and of Turkey is based upon aid reaching any or all of these nations from England and Russia. What form do you think such aid might take? What chance do you believe it has for success?
6. How would the Balkan area fit into German concepts of a Nazi-dominated Europe? Describe the two plans discussed for the Balkans and consider the advantages and disadvantages of each.

LOOK *Looks at the* ROUND TABLE

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The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "YOU, Soldier," October 13.*

*

Admissions

I think Lt. Col. Hershey has made many admissions with regard to the inequities in the law and the probable administration thereof. The Negro question, the caste system question, the question of the burden of supplying manpower by lower classes, the question of job security and many others, were well brought out and the conscription act exposed for what it is; an undemocratic and unequal law.

A. J. H., New York

*

Undemocratic

I am sure that large numbers of listeners to the Chicago University ROUND TABLE were further disturbed about this matter of the draft and democracies because of the attitude of Col. Hershey in regard to our colored population. Certainly his statement that "when the army takes in a Negro it takes in a problem," is an expression of a vicious philosophy.

Any fair-minded person would have to be opposed to segregation of any minority group in our armed forces. To many of us, however, the present situation is far more dangerous than previous ones in that in peace time we are forcibly segregating citizens of the United States in direct opposition to every democratic principle. Millions of young men, both white and colored, who work side by side in factories, schools and in other phases of life now find themselves forcibly set apart into a white army and a colored army. The effect of this on our national life cannot help but be of great significance.

A. G. F., Illinois

*

Tax Us

I could not help but feel that the plan of conscription of men had not been thoroughly thought out.

The men selected to give their time should at least be compensated in full for any deficit they would suffer, financially.

When they return to private life they should not be saddled with back debts to be made up by more scrimping, but any such amounts should be taken care of by the government.

A tax on income, wages or salaries of from 2 per cent to 5 per cent would be little for us who stay snugly at home, to contribute.

H. F. H., Pennsylvania

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Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Minneapolis and		
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Duluth, Minn., and			New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1310	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Houston, Texas	KPRC	920	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Denver, Colo.	KOA	590			

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	10:15 P.M. EDST

"WARMONGERS" AND "APPEASERS"

Who are they in America?

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

OCTOBER 27, 1940

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CLAY JUDSON, America First Committee

WALTER H. C. LAVES, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

(THIRD PARTICIPANT TO BE ANNOUNCED)

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SUGGESTED READINGS

LINDBERGH, COL. CHARLES A., "Our Drift toward War," *Vital Speeches,* July 1, 1940.

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD, "The Irresponsibles," *Nation,* May 18, 1940.

WHITRIDGE, ARNOLD, "Where Do You Stand?" *Atlantic,* August, 1940.

BREWSTER, KINGMAN, JR., and KLAW, S. A., "We Stand Here," *Atlantic,* September, 1940.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]